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ABSTRACT

The three sections of this course/conference report concern: (1) the incidence of bullying; (2) characteristics of both bullies and victims; and (3) approaches to prevention and treatment. Each section is an amalgamation of the material presented and the discussions which followed. Bullying in schools is not a new phenomenon, but only in the last 15 years has bullying become a subject of scientific research. Most of the empirical data comes from the Scandinavian countries and some information is available from Great Britain. Serious concern about bullying has not yet surfaced in other European countries. Studies based on self-reports show that at least 5% of Norwegian school children aged 7 to 16 are involved in bullying once a week or more, but twice as many children were bullied during primary grades as secondary grades. Boys bullied both boys and girls, whereas girls bullied only girls. School factors seem to affect bullying, with the same schools consistently showing little bullying behavior. Less information is available from Great Britain, but a study of schools in a middle class neighborhood estimated the incidence of bullying at 5%. However, in other studies results show 26% of parents reporting bullying of their children. Again, bullying was found to occur much more frequently in some schools than others. Scandinavian research suggests that victims are anxious children showing more fear and helpless anger when provoked, whereas bullies are confident and tough, with positive self-esteem. Studies from Scandinavia and the United Kingdom relate early environmental and family factors to bullying behavior. A national campaign against bullying in schools, launched by the Norwegian Department of Education consists of a three-step strategy to strengthen schools' relations with families; improve teachers' relations with pupils; and meet with victims, bullies, and parents of both after a specific incident. Other strategies are also described. (DHP)

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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

The CDCC's Teacher Bursaries Scheme

Course/Seminar on

"Bullying in Schools"

Solborg Folkehogskøle, Stavanger, Norway, 2 - 7 August 1987

Report by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Bullying (or harassment or mobbing) among children is not a new phenomenon having featured frequently in fictional stories for centuries. Most adults can recall incidents of bullying in their schooldays. Indeed, it is not uncommon for people to regard bullying as a natural process, part of the inevitable and turbulent process of growing up. The common perception is that by enduring it and perhaps fighting back, boys and girls are toughened up, and then better prepared for life.

It is only in the last 15 years or so that bullying has become a subject of scientific research. Most of the empirical data to emerge so far has come from the Scandinavian countries who have recognised bullying as a problem in their schools. A climate of serious concern on bullying has, however, not yet surfaced in other European countries.

The course on "bullying in schools" was Norway's contribution in 1987 to the Council for Cultural Co-operation's Teacher Bursaries Scheme.

The aim of this first teachers' course in bullying was therefore to examine the problem of bullying in schools in Europe of pupils in the age group 6 - 16 years. It was hoped that the presentations of scientific material and the discussion which emanated from the plenary and group sessions would stimulate further awareness and interest and lead to the initiation of further research into the subject within Europe. It is probable that only through a greater understanding of bullying can one hope to implement significant management and prevention strategies.

The programme of the course and the list of participants are to be found in the Appendices to this report.

This report on the conference proceedings on bullying in schools is divided into three sections:

i. The incidence of bullying.

ii. Personal and background characteristics of both bullies and victims.

iii. Approaches to prevention and treatment.

Each section is an amalgamation of the scientific material presented and the discussions from the plenary and group sessions which followed.

II. SITUATION IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

1. NORWAY

In Norway, bullying has been defined as the long-term and systematic use of violence, mental or physical, against an individual who is unable to defend himself in an actual situation. Bullying might be carried out by an individual or a group. Using this definition, Erling Roland reported that at least 5%, ie about 40,000 Norwegian school children from the age of 7 to 16 years are "involved" in serious bullying. Serious bullying implies bullying or being bullied once a week or more often.

These figures were based on a nationwide study sponsored by the Norwegian Department of Education (Kirke og Undervisningsdepartementet) and directed by Dan Olweus in 1983. It also emerged from this study that 11% of the pupils in the elementary classes (ie classes 2-6 years, approximate ages ranging from 8 - 12 years) and 5% of secondary pupils (classes 7-9, ie children aged 13 - 16 years) stated that they had been bullied sometimes. Furthermore, it was found by Olweus (1985) that 7 to 8% of both elementary and secondary school pupils maintained they sometimes or indeed more frequently acted as bullies. Olweus (1985) from a more detailed study in Bergen, found that approximately 18% of those children who are bullied sometimes bully others. However, only 6% of those who are seriously bullied, bully others.

In all, Olweus (1985) reported that 15% of Norwegian school children were involved in bullying occasionally, ie 83,000 pupils out of the total 570,000 pupils or approximately 1 in 7.

From Figure 1, it can be seen that fewer Norwegian children, both boys and girls, were bullied when they entered senior school. So, approximately twice as many children are bullied during the primary grades as compared to the secondary grades.

OLWEUS (1985)

No. boys in Junior School = 28586 Senior School = 13804

No. of girls in Junior School = 27542 Senior School = 13398

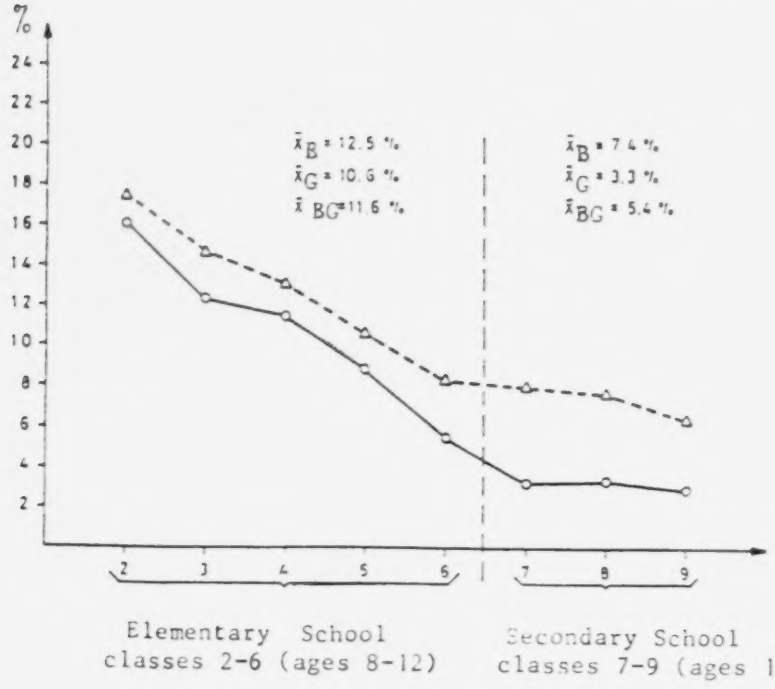

FIGURE 1: The percentage of pupils who have been bullied in school (Autumn 1983) "sometimes or more often".

Boys are subjected to more direct physical attacks, whereas girls are exposed to more subtle, indirect forms of bullying, such as social rejection and exclusion from a group.

The type of bullying behaviour also changed as the children grew older. There was less physical bullying among the older age groups as compared to the younger ones. It is to be noted that Olweus (1985) found that 50% of those bullied in the junior classes, particularly those of 8 and 9 years were bullied by children in higher grades. Whereas boys bully both boys and girls and find their victims from other classes, girls were found by Roland (1987) to find their victims among those girls in their own class.

OLWEUS (1985)

No. boys in Junior School = 28590 Senior School = 13734

No. girls in Junior School = 27509 Senior School = 13369

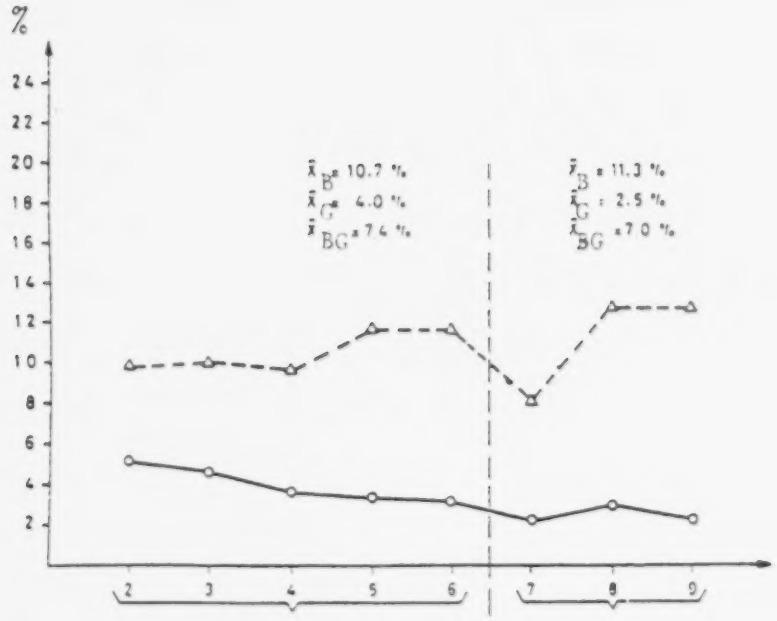

FIGURE 2: The percentage of pupils who have bullied others in school (Autumn 1983) "sometimes or more often".

Figure 2 summarises the position in Norway. Olweus' data shows that there is an increase in bullying among the Norwegian boys as they progress through school whereas it diminishes slowly among the girls. However, there

is no difference in the extent of bullying between the junior and senior pupils when boys and girls are considered together. Olweus explains that the dramatic drop in bullying shown in Figure 2 among the boys in 7th grade (ie around 13 years of age) is due to the fact that they are now in their first year in senior school and therefore no longer have access to younger victims.

The Norwegian figures presented were based on the children's self-reports. Thus the accuracy of reporting was questioned by some of the delegates. Greater confidence in the reporting can, however, be gained when one examines a study by Olweus of schoolchildren in Bergen. In this rather smaller, but more intensive, study the teachers were also asked to estimate those children who were bullied and those who bullied. The results showed that there were no significant differences in pupil and teacher estimates of bullying behaviour.

No relationship was found by Olweus between bullying and the size of school. Indeed, he believes it is a myth to regard small schools, such as rural schools as idyllic and free of conflict. Throughout Norway, there are as many pupils bullied in small schools as in big schools. Indeed the small schools reported having a greater proportion of bullies than did the bigger schools. This was especially true of junior schools. These findings were again a source of considerable doubt in some of the participants who felt that there must be a cut off point beyond which a school becomes too big and where bullying is exacerbated. It should be noted that, in Norway, a school has generally no more than 600-800 pupils whereas other European countries eg Portugal and the United Kingdom have some schools with 2,000 pupils or more.

When children were asked to what extent teachers intervened to prevent bullying, 40% of the bullied junior school pupils answered that the teachers "barely if ever" do anything to stop bullying. In the senior schools, the situation was even worse, ie 60% of the pupils claimed that the teachers did not really care.

The bullies also confirmed that teachers intervened only to a very modest extent. Indeed, 70% of bullies in the junior grades and 90% of the bullies in the senior grades claimed that their class teachers had never approached them about their bullying behaviour.

Parents of both victims and bullies were also largely ignorant of, or chose to ignore, their child's behaviour at school. The situation was worst in the homes of bullies. Only 10% of the bullies in the senior grades and 25% of those in the junior grades reported that their parents had spoken to them about their bullying behaviour. The proportion of parents of victims who had shown interest in what was happening to their children at school was estimated by the victims to be about 55% in the junior school as compared with only 35% in the senior classes.

The Department of Education interpreted the above results from 1983 as portraying an unacceptable level of bullying in Norwegian schools. Teachers were seen as doing little to combat it and a lack of knowledge among parents was also evident. They, therefore, decided to launch a nationwide campaign to combat bullying. A package was developed for schools which comprised:

i. a booklet for teachers written by Olweus and Roland;

ii. guidelines for parents;

iii. a videocassette about everyday scenes of bullying in schools.

Following the campaign, the Department of Education initiated a study, in 1986, to examine the effects which the campaign had had on the bullying situation on Norway. Known as "the Janus project", this follow-up study was directed by Roland with the assistance of Elaine Munthe, Petter Steen Jr and Bjorg Lauvik and completion is due in 1988. The study is based on 8,500 pupils from the Rogaland region (South-West of Norway). The results analysed so far suggest that the national campaign against bullying has had a positive influence, but only among the secondary school pupils. Indeed, Roland reported that the bullying situation had worsened among junior school pupils with the campaign having had least effect among children in classes 4 to 5 (ie children aged 10 and 11 years).

Figure 3 shows the overall situation for those children who were bullied before and after the national campaign.

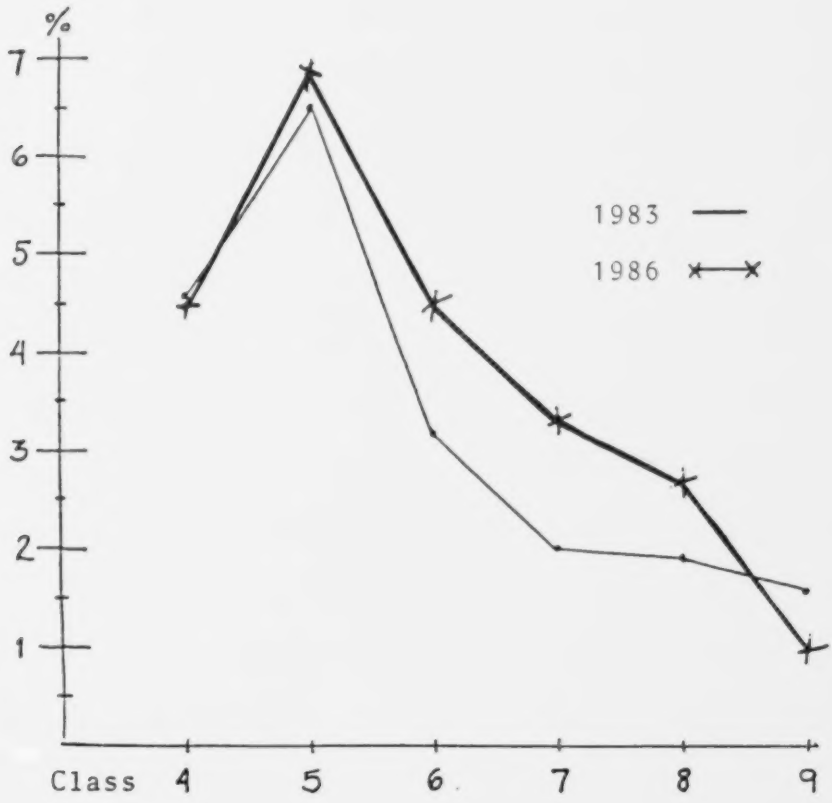

Fig 3: Percentage of children seriously bullied per class

The total percentage of children seriously bullied (ie once a week or more) had risen in Rogaland from 4.8 to 5.3%. Whereas it had increased from 3.6 to 5.2% for the boys it had declined from 4.0 to 3.5% for the girls (see Figs 4 and 5). Figures 4 and 5 again show that it is boys and girls at the age of 11 years who remain most at risk from serious bullying.

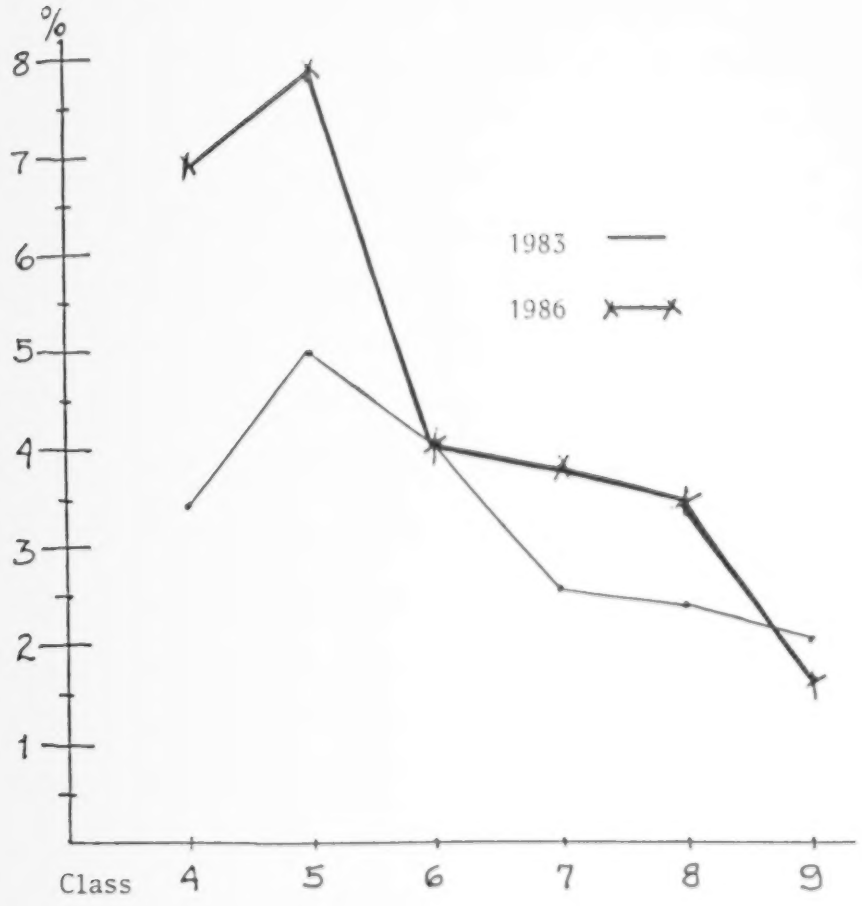

Fig 4: Percentage of seriously bullied boys per class

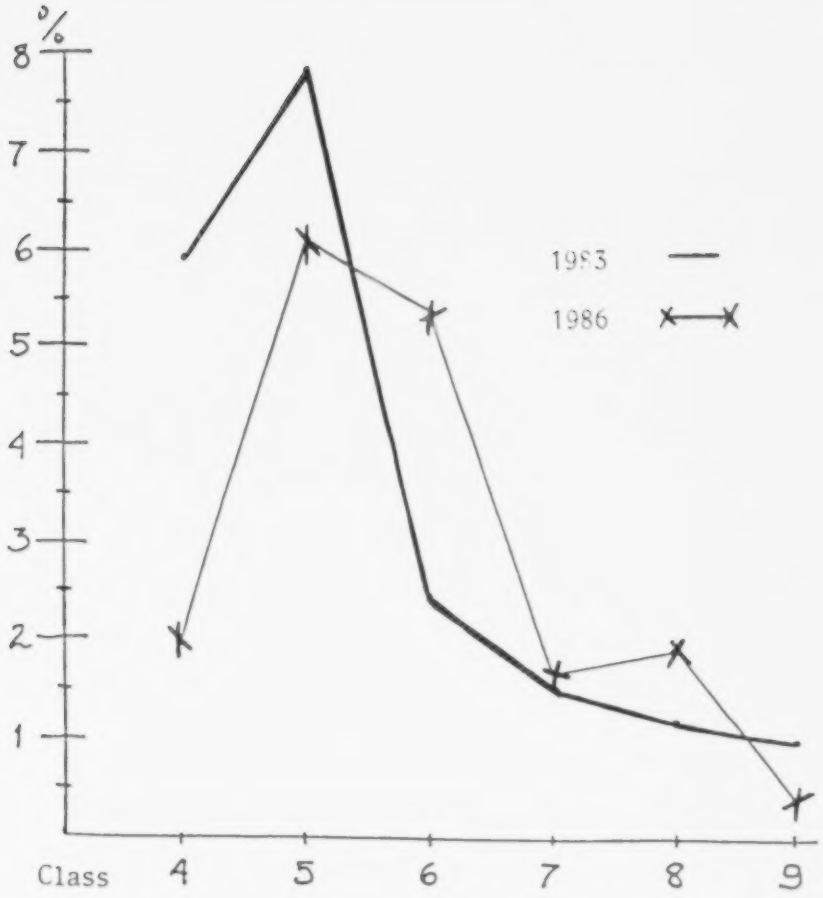

Fig 5: Percentage of seriously bullied girls per class

Examination of the data on the bullies showed that there was an increase in the proportion of bullies since the campaign. In 1983, the total percentage of bullies was 2.5% and this has risen to 3.4% by 1986 (see Fig. 6). A disproportionately high number of bullies were to be found in classes 5 and 6. This was particularly true of boys. Bullying then declined as the children grew older only for the behaviour to peak again when the children reached 15 and 16 years of age.

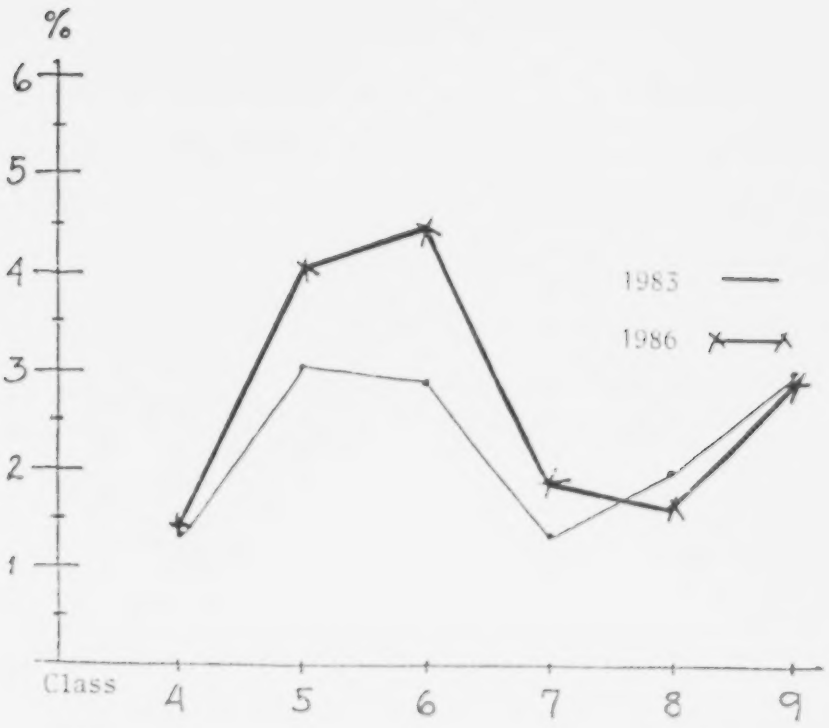

Fig 6: Percentage of 'bullies' per class

Roland believes that the increases in bullying found since the campaign may be related to the more aggressive foreign films which have been shown in Norway recently owing to the introduction of satellite television.

Although the results from the campaign in Rogaland appear disappointing, it should be noted that the most dramatic increase in bullying was found among the children in classes 2 and 3. These children had not yet started school when the national campaign was in progress. Roland also pointed out that he had found a quite considerable variation between schools in the amount of bullying. Those schools which had little bullying in 1983 showed little bullying in 1986. Furthermore, those schools that had taken the campaign against bullying seriously had shown improvements. This was particularly true for secondary schools. These findings suggested to Roland that school factors must play some part in determining bullying in schools. He has yet to analyse the data in respect of more qualitative data such as teaching style, teacher-pupil relations, classroom management techniques and other aspects of school organisation.

2. THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

Mona O'Moore, in her report on the situation of bullying in the United Kingdom and Ireland, highlighted the difficulty of presenting an accurate picture of bullying owing to the paucity of large scale research. Indeed, it became clear that a climate of concern on bullying has not yet emerged. Instead, what has recently captured the major attention of teachers, school authorities, psychologists, sociologists and the media is the dramatic increase in the stress and strain on teachers and the problems of indiscipline or disruption in the classroom. Nonetheless, Besag (1987) claims that bullying is widespread in the United Kingdom. But just how widespread, we do not know. Caroline St. John Brooks (1985), again one of the few who has taken an interest in the subject of bullying in schools, writes that it is almost impossible to tell exactly how much goes on because of the mixture of secrecy and exaggeration which surrounds bullying. Now and again an example surfaces, she says - for example, a persecuted child commits suicide or plays truant but for the most part bullying is an underground activity.

The relationship between truancy and bullying in schools was also noted by Ken Reid (1983). He discovered from his research into Truancy and Absenteeism in South Wales that no fewer than 15% and 19% of his sample respectively claimed that they first missed school and later continued to miss school for reasons associated with bullying. One boy, for example, started to miss school when he failed to pay a fine of 2p a day imposed on him by his classmates. This small sum was "protection" money. If the sum was not paid, the pupil was bullied until such time as the payments started again. It is to be noted that more boys than girls were influenced by acts which they described as bullying. Reid also found that extortion was a popular method, particularly among the black pupils in one of the two comprehensive schools which he studied. He points out, however, that it is unlikely that the relationship between bullying and persistent absenteeism would be so high in many schools in different parts of the United Kingdom.

Linda Measor and Peter Woods in their recent book "Changing School" Pupil perspectives on Transfer to a Comprehensive (1984) suggest that bullying certainly comes high on the list of most children's anxieties about secondary school. But again, how much is myth and how much is based on realistic perception is not known.

There are, however, some United Kingdom estimates. Lowenstein (1978) found an incidence of 5% among boys aged 11-16 years. The incidence varied depending on the age and sex of the children. It should be noted that the area studied was predominantly middle class.

TABLE 1: LOWENSTEIN (1978) Types of bullying predominantly observed and percentage of bullies identified in the population studied for each age group.

Types of bullying	Boys Ages			Girls Ages		
	5-7	7-11	11-16	5-7	7-11	11-16
Physical and vicious attacks	3	9	29	0	2	7
Verbal attacks	1	4	7	0	3	6
Severe but subtle psychological bullying	0	1	5	0	0	5
TOTAL	4	14	41	0	5	19
Percentage of Population	0.4	1.4	5.0	0	0.6	1.5

An Inner London Education Authority survey found, however, that 22% of the parents of 11 year olds report bullying as a problem for their children. Again John and Elisabeth Newson (1984), in their latest examination of their longitudinal study on the upbringing of 700 Nottingham children, found that 26% of the mothers were aware that their children were being bullied at school. Four percent were seriously bullied. Few mothers, on the other hand, admitted that their own children were inclined to bully. These percentages of bullied children are alarmingly high. One can only hope that, as Measor and Woods point out "11 year olds on transfer to secondary school feel small incidents loom large".

Stephenson and Smith (1978) recently published results from a study on bullying involving 49 teachers of 1,078 final year primary school children attending 26 schools in North-East England. They found that 23% of the children were involved in bullying as either victims or bullies. The finding that the majority of bullies had started bullying a year or more previously and that the majority of the victims had been subjected to bullying for a year or so again suggested that the problem does not sort itself out. A significant finding in the above study was that bullying was found to occur much more frequently in some schools than others. In three schools there was said to be no bullying at all among the final year

children while in one school, over 50% of the year group were reported to be involved. Generally speaking, the findings indicated that the larger the class and the larger the school, the greater the problem tends to be. It was also more common in schools located in socially deprived areas. Stephenson and Smith stated that "in this context, it is of note that all the children involved in bullying, both the bullies and the victims, are a fairly disadvantaged group". Another significant finding was that the authors identified not just two groups of children, that is to say bullies and victims but their data suggested that there were in fact five distinct groups:

i. victims and 7% of the children fell into this group;

ii. small number of victims (17%) who were classified as provocative victims;

iii. in addition were the bullies and 1 in 10 of the sample were described as bullies;

iv. furthermore, a small number of the bullies (18%), mostly boys, were considered to be "anxious bullies";

v. in addition to the children who are either bullies or victims there is a group of children who bully others and are themselves bullied. Six percent of the total sample fall into this group.

The characteristics of these individual groups will be described in the next section of this report.

In Ireland, there have been two recent studies, both of which used similar definitions of bullies and victims as Olweus and Roland. Mitchel and O'Moore (1987) sampled 24 regular primary school teachers in charge of a total of 720 pupils and reported an incidence of 6%. Brendan Byrne (1987) examined an urban post-primary or secondary school for boys with about 600 students ranging from 12 to 18 years and discovered an incidence of 5%.

It was noticeable that the incidence of bullying in both the primary and secondary grades was greatest in the remedial classes. Mitchel and O'Moore (1987) found that among the primary school children 16% of the children in the remedial classes were bullies. This compared to 5% in the regular classes. Similarly, Byrne found that 13% of the children in the remedial class in the secondary school were victims and 9% were bullies as compared with 5% victims and bullies in the regular classes. The remedial classes were also the smallest class and Byrne speculated that it might be easier for a bully to operate in a small class where he can control and manipulate all or most of the members. Opposition to a bully would be more obvious and may be more dangerous than in a larger class. With regard to social class, both studies showed no significant relationship with bullying. Byrne, however, found that none of the bullies were the first child in their families (average number of children per family was 4.43) but over half of the victims held that position. The average number of children per family among the victims was 3.58. In fact it emerged that half of the bullies were second children.

In contrast to Scandinavian schools, Irish schools as in the United Kingdom are very varied. For junior pupils, 4 to 12 years, there are both private and state run schools. Post-primary schools consist of grammar type secondary schools some of which are privately owned; state comprehensive and community schools which are administered by boards of management and vocational schools which are administered by local authorities.

In Ireland, it is in the vocational schools that one finds a concentration of aggressive pupils (Foy, 1977). The majority of the vocational schools are located in working-class areas. Although as a principle no statistics released on the incidence of bullying by the Vocational Education Committee (VEC) because of possible media repercussions, Brede Foy, 1977 in her paper on Classroom Aggression to UNESCO reports that the tough bully is indeed the greatest cause of aggression in the class.

In the United Kingdom there are many different types of schools. Schools can be predominantly middle class or working class, single-sex or mixed, boarding or day, primary or secondary, selective or comprehensive, denominational or interdenominational. Anecdotal evidence and case studies on bullying have shown that no school is immune. It would seem natural to ask, however, whether there is a greater incidence of bullying in one type of school than another. Olweus found little to support the view that bullying emerges as a consequence of structural factors in the school or classroom or as a consequence of frustrations and failures in school. Roland, however, believed schools do make a difference as did Stephenson and Smith.

There is certainly convincing evidence to show that aspects of school organisation and "ethos" in the United Kingdom and Ireland contribute markedly to the frequency of disruptive incidents. For example, violent and disruptive behaviour has been linked with a curriculum which places too little emphasis on individual, non-academic achievement and too much on competition. Hargreaves (1975) maintains that, in such schools, pupils unable to achieve academic distinction turn to bullying and disruption as a way of gaining attention and status. Streaming aggravates this situation. Neil Frude (1984) makes reference, for example, to teachers' pets as frequent targets of contempt for pupils who feel themselves to be out of favour. To be favoured or judged to be courting favour can be perceived as an offence and is likely to bring contempt and retribution.

Heavy and inflexible use of school rules has also been associated with poor behaviour in class. Indeed, relationships between teachers, such as hostility and lack of rapport between staff members, can adversely influence the environment of the pupils. In particular, it has been pointed out that a lack of consensus regarding overall"the approach to management" can lead to major inconsistencies in "toleration limits", with the result that quite different expectations regarding behaviour are transmitted to the pupils.

Although bullying behaviour is not synonymous with disruptive behaviour, there is some research which has shown that disruptive children are often anti-social, exhibiting aggression towards other children and sometime staff, in bullying, refusal to co-operate, disobedience, stealing, lying and tantrums (Mills, 1976; Lawrence et al, 1984). Therefore, where there is a growth in disruption, a corresponding growth in bullying might be expected. Existing statistics on the extent of violent and disruptive behaviour are limited by inexact record keeping and problems of definition. McNamara (1975) indicated, however, that it is more common in secondary than in primary schools, among boys than among girls, in urban than in rural areas and among low ability disadvantaged pupils.

McNamara also found an average of 4% of pupils to be seriously disruptive in class, with a further 10% occasionally being disruptive. McNamara also recorded in 1971-72, 3,000 violent incidents which occurred in just over one half of all local education authorities in England and Wales. There are, however, nearly 10 million children in Britain attending school for 15,000 hours a year, so if we put it in perspective, the number of incidents is small. A number of local authorities maintain that figures have increased since that time, and that there is substantial under-reporting of fairly serious incidents. It must be noted, however, that many local authority studies found both violent and disruptive behaviour to be concentrated in a few schools.

In Northern Ireland, where children daily here, if not see, results of violence, it would perhaps be normal to expect a «trickle-down effect» in the schools of the increased violence in society. Wilson and Irvine (1978) have reported a relationship between violence in the North of Ireland and conduct disorders in children. Conduct disorders included fighting, bullying, destructiveness, insolence, stealing and truancy. It was hoped therefore that the most recent report on discipline (Department of Education for Northern Ireland, August 1987) might have thrown some light on bullying. An increase in the incidence of indiscipline was, however, reported by 45% of the headteachers and 59% of classroom teachers. However, bullying did not attract any particular attention in spite of the fact that all headteachers were surveyed. Perhaps this should come as no surprise, since, according to Caroline St John-Brooks, Her Majesty's Inspectors in the United Kingdom never mention racial bullying in their reports on schools. Yet, it is on record that, when Sir Keith Joseph was Education Secretary, he condemned racial bullying in a speech given in Reading, March 1983. Again, the Runnymede Trust, in their bulletin of October 1984 gave several examples of Asian children being attacked and injured.

In the same way as in Scandinavia, efforts have been made, at national level, in Japan to identify and curb bullying. The police, for example, have been called in to help catch the bullies by providing special telephone lines for pupils, parents and teachers. Why then is bullying surrounded by under-reporting complacency or even denial in the United Kingdom and Ireland? The author believes that reasons varied depending on whose interests were at stake. Firstly, the pupil helps bullying to go undetected because of:

a. fear of reprisals;

b. the social pressure to cope. In our status-conscious society, there are many children who would rather not admit that they are underdogs, or bottom of the pecking order.

c. telling tales in the United Kingdom and Ireland is taboo.

Society after all admires the strong and offers minimum support to the weak. Attitudes such as these have been clearly illustrated through the reporting of the recent banner headlines in the English press of: «School Lolitas are harassing male teachers». In this article, it was learned that of the 45% of male teachers, who, in a survey compiled by the Birmingham branch of the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT), reported one or more direct experiences of sexual harassment, ONLY TWO had disclosed the matter to the school head or governors. The men, it turned out felt under considerable social pressure to «cope». Otherwise they felt they would be viewed as prudish, weak, or unmanly. This situation is remarkably similar to that of the bullied. Ironically, the report by NAS/UWT went on to say that «it is a damning indictment of the system in which we operate that victims of abuse of this nature feel they have to suffer in silence».

The union, therefore, called for each local authority to establish an independent counselling service devoted to offering advice and support for victims of harassment. O'Moore posed the questions:

i. Why have teachers not been calling for similar action for their pupil victims of bullying?

ii. Is it that they do not see bullying face on?

The studies available indicate that teachers were aware that bullying takes place in their schools. Perhaps they have been powerless to do anything about it or have possibly been so wrapped up in their own teacher-stress that they have been unable to accommodate pupil-stress. It is also possible that bullying does not make the teachers' life unpleasant nor interfere with his/her academic aims as is often the case of the insolent and disobedient child. Couples with this is, of course, the often heard attitude that children have their own social system and should sort themselves out. In other words, the victim will toughen up and learn to cope.

In addition to pupils and teachers, headteachers and school authorities are also party to the social pressure to cope. There may, for example, be a reluctance to admit to problems of bullying as this can reflect badly on «the good name of the school» and on their own reputation as administrators. Heads might also judge that such a «call for help» may be regarded as an «admission of defeat» and weaken their perceived competence in the eyes of pupils, parents, colleagues and authority administrators. Arguments such as these have all been advanced to account for the bias suggested in reporting the incidence of disruptiveness.

In conclusion, the material available from the United Kingdom and Ireland suggests that bullying goes on in United Kingdom and Irish schools but to what overall extent is uncertain. Those studies which are available suggest the incidence is similar to that of Sweden and Norway. If we use the statistics which are available on violence and disruption in schools as guidelines, then the picture which emerges from the United Kingdom and Ireland is not alarming but nonetheless leaves no room for complacency as it may represent only the tip of the iceberg. As in the words of the Hampshire Report on Pastoral Care (1975), there is no such thing as «acceptable bullying».

The differences which have emerged from the separate studies throughout Scandinavia and the United Kingdom and Ireland in respect of the relationship between the incidence of bullying and socio-economic status, size of school or class and urbanisation stimulated much interest and reflection. Many reasons were advanced by the participants which included cultural differences in school organisation in attitudes about violence and the use of physical punishment as means of controlling behaviour. The need for cross-cultural studies became clear.

3. OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The input of research material from Norway and the United Kingdom and Ireland on the incidence of bullying in their countries could not be matched by the other participating countries at the meeting in Stavanger. Indeed, it was reported that Spain and Portugal, for example, had no word for bullying in their language, yet violent pupil behaviour was reported to be present also in these countries. Most of the other European participants could also give vivid examples of bullying behaviour which they had come acorss in the course of their work, yet owing to the paucity of research, in their respective countries, accurate statistics were not available. Rosariq Russo Bucolo, headteacher of a primary school in Messina, Italy, reported, for example, that in her school which is situated in a suburban district of Messina, she had observed many examples of bullying and harassing. In fact, she thinks bullying is widespread because in that area «the people normally use aggressive behaviour in most situations».

III. PERSONAL AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF BULLIES AND THEIR VICTIMS

The picture which emerged from Scandinavian research, presented by Roland, was that the victims were anxious children showing more fear and helpless anger when provoked as compared to non-bullied children. They were also physically weaker than their peers. In addition, the victims were also more sensitive, cautious, gentle and quiet-mannered. They typically reacted to bullying by crying or withdrawing (this was particularly true of those in the most junior classes). The victims invariably felt alone, isolated or rejected in school. Furthermore, it was not uncommon to find that the victims had no close friends in their class. They were also characterised by low self-esteem, poor scholastic attainments and intellectual ability.

Typically, victims did not have a teasing or provocative manner. However, there existed a minority of victims who could be characterised by their provocative nature. Olweus (1978) described such children as quick-tempered, restless and lacking in concentration. An atmosphere of tension and irritation quickly erupts when they are around.

Since the provocative victim irritates many in his/her class, the probability of a more collective reaction arises on the part of the peer group.

The popular opinion that the victims' looks were somewhat unusual has not been confirmed by Roland (1987), yet Bjorkquist et al (1982) found obesity and handicaps were more common among Finnish victims. Parents of victims described their children, notably boys, as having been cautious and anxious even as pre-schoolers. At the same time, one must not loose sight of the fact that longlasting victimisation can increase anxiety, fearfulness and lower self-esteem. On a more positive note, victims have been found to have a closer and more positive relationship with their parents than ordinary children (Olweus, 1978). Although this could be partly the effect of bullying, it nonetheless could prove invaluable from a therapeutic point of view.

Bullies on the other hand, were portrayed by Roland as non-anxious, confident and tough with a positive self-esteem. Scholastically, they were average or slightly below average. They did not come from lower socio-economic levels than well-adjusted children. Scandinavian research has furthermore found them to be physically stronger than other boys. As expected the bullies were more aggressive, both physically and verbally against peers as well as teachers than the well adjusted boys. They were, moreover, characterised by a positive attitude to violence and violent means. Yet they enjoyed average popularity among their peers. It was common for bullies to have two or three "friends" around them who quite liked them and provided them with support. Olweus, however, found that the bullies' popularity declines significantly as they ascend through the senior classes so when they have reached ninth class (age 16 years) they are well below average in popularity. Roland, from an intensive of study of bullying in one elementary school on the west coast of Norway, found that in spite of the seemingly average popularity of the bullies, few received reciprocal choices in socio-metric tests. This phenomenon was most marked among girls. Roland believed that pupils who were low on "mutual sympathy" would feel a special and strong desire for affilitation which could be satisfied by taking part in joint victimisation of another pupil.

Olweus (1978) is confident from his Swedish research that the aggressive behaviour of the bullies cannot be explained as a consequence of frustrations and failures in the school setting. He believes instead that temperamental and early environmental and family factors are related to bullying. Olweus found the following factors to be related to bullying in boys:

a. mothers' negativism to child;
b. boys' temperament;
c. mothers' permissiveness of aggression;
d. mothers' and fathers' use of power-assertive disciplinary techniques.

It is to be noted that power assertive disciplinary techniques were found by Olweus as being secondary in importance to the influence of negative parental attitudes. Thus it is the «silent violence» towards a boy exerted by means of negativism, indifference and lack of involvement which seems to be more detrimental to the boys' personality development than the use of physical punishment. Olweus has, however, pointed out that a basic negative attitude and use of power-assertive disciplinary methods often go hand in hand.

Roland studied both male and female bullies and also found that negativism on the part of the mother and father and indeed negative emotions between the parents themselves were strongly related to bullying in children. He found in particular that the greater the negativism on the mother's part, the greater was the bullying on the part of the son. A father's negativism towards his daughter had a similar effect.

Roland was, therefore, of the opinion that bullies bully because of a strong need for power and a need for affiliation. He argued that a highly permissive, tolerant or lax attitude without clear limits for a child's aggressive behaviour together with the use of power assertive methods has a two-fold effect on the child. Namely, it produces a power-motive system as well as diminishing inhibitions towards aggression. Furthermore, he claimed that the negativism of parents towards their children produces a special need for affiliation. It is to be noted that Roland claimed the need for affiliation had a greater impact on girls' bullying behaviour whereas the power factor significantly determined the boys' victimisation of others.

The Scandinavian research presented certainly portrays bullies as a homogeneous group. It is not uncommon, however, to find pupils joining in on bullying without taking the initiative (Olweus and Roland, 1983). These «passive bullies» or «hangers on» are likely to be less homogeneous with regard to personality traits and can probably involve uncertain and more anxious pupils.

Although the bulk of information on the bully and the bullied emanates from the Scandinavian countries the report by O'Moore on the bullying situation in the United Kingdom and Ireland highlighted those studies in England and Ireland which also contained social and psychological data. Lowenstein (1978), who prepared the first of these studies in England, found that bullies were more likely to be hyperactive and disruptive in class, and had higher neuroticism scores than their controls. Moreover, they had lower IQ's and were below average in reading achievement. Lowenstein also found that bullying children of either sex were more likely to have parents who had:

a. marital problems and conflicts at home;
b. been bullies themselves;
c. a poor approach to rearing children ie inconsistent, overstrict or over-permissive;
d. a lack of values relating to sensitivity to other people.

It should be noted that Lowenstein found the identification of bullies was not always unanimous. Teachers did not always agree on who were bullies, indicating that bullying was on a continuum with normal aggressive or domineering behaviour and teachers themselves viewed bullying differently, due to their own orientation and experience with particular children. Lowenstein, therefore, applied the following criteria, before selecting bullying children for closer examination:

LOWENSTEIN (1978) CRITERIA

a. Two or more children and two or more teachers must agree that a child is a bully.

b. This was to be supported by the reports from victims of bullies and/or their parents.

c. The specific features observed, or reported, about the bullying child:

   i. physical or verbal attacks on the child, or group of children, led by a bully on less adequate or effective children;

   ii. causing another child or children physical or psychological distress as reported by the victim, or observed by a teacher, or reported by a parent of the victim.

d. The children were observed and behaviour reported for a period of at least six months.

e. Only the most severe and corroborated bullying incidents by children were included in the study; the more mild type of bullying was excluded when the first three points above were not in evidence.

In a later study of victims of bullying, Lowenstein (1978) found bullied children also had distinct physical characteristics and personality traits which distinguished them from the non-bullied child. Social and background features appeared to influence the possibility of being bullied. Social skills and the capacity to communicate, to be popular and show interest in others were likely to mitigate against being bullied. Moreover, children were less likely to be bullied if they were physically robust, extraverted, socially sensitive, unselfish, flexible, conforming to group norms, rewarding, unaggressive, non-attention seeking and modest.

Lowenstein's findings in respect of the victims were very similar to the Scandinavian and Finnish results, that is to say the victim is insecure in his/her social relations and is physically weak. Lowenstein did not, however, distinguish between the provocative and the passive victim as did Olweus (1978). If this distinction is ignored, it might so easily cloud results. Lowenstein, for example, found his controls to be less aggressive than the victims, a finding which is in the opposite direction of what could be expected of the passive victim. Indeed, Stephenson and Smith's (1987) data of primary school children clearly distinguishes the passive victim from the provocative victim. Whereas most of their victims, as in the Scandinavian literature, were passive, weak and ineffective individuals, the provocative victims were rated as more confident and physically stronger than other victims. They were not only easily provoked but they also provoked other children. Whereas most victims actively avoid aggressive situations, these children were found to actively seek these out. In addition, a larger number of these children frequently complained to their teachers that they were being bullied. Stephenson and Smith believe that, because these children actively provoke the bullying to which they are subjected, they are a particularly vulnerable and problematic group.

Equally worrying were the small number of anxious bullies. Whereas they found the majority of bullies shared the characteristics of the Scandinavian bullies, ie confident, assertive, physically strong, reasonably popular, the anxious bullies were rated as lacking in self-confidence. In fact, they were found to be the least confident of all the groups. More of these children were reported to have problems at home and they were less popular with their classmates than other bullies. Their teacher described them as having fewer likeable qualities than the other groups and they also had the poorest school attainments and poorest concentration of all the groups.

Stephenson and Smith believe that the «anxious bullies» were, in many ways, similar to the popular stereotype of the bully, ie «all bullies are cowards». They also point out that «bullies are often portrayed in fictional stories as being 'ignorant oafs' who give vent to repeated experience of frustration and failure at school by wreaking their vengeance on the 'class swot'». Stephenson and Smith pointed out that their anxious bullies had major educational problems.

The group of children who both bully others and were themselves bullied were found by Stephenson and Smith to be exceptional in that these children were rated as «least popular» with other children. Like provocative victims, they are easily provoked and frequently provoke others but are also physically stronger and therefore more able to assert themselves. Stephenson and Smith speculated that the hostility which is directed by these children towards their victims «is fuelled by their own experience of being victimised in a different context and situation».

The studies from Ireland also found many distinguishing features between bullies, victims and non-bullied children.

Mitchel and O'Moore's (1987) study of primary school children, for example, distinguished between the bullies in the regular classes and remedial classes. Whereas 43% of the bullies in regular classes were considered popular children none of the bullies in the remedial classes were rated as popular. It may well be that this latter group were the «anxious bullies» described by Stephenson and Smith.

The Dublin children's personalities which were based on the teachers' spontaneous or free descriptions of the children as well as their ratings on the Rutter Behaviour Questionnaire indicated that, for the most part, the bullies were unhappy, troubled children. Of the 23 bullies in the regular classes on whom the questionnaire were returned, 19 had scores above 9 which indicates a behavioural problem. In contrast, a control group of non-bullies suggested that only two children had behavioural problems.

Further analysis of the questionnaires indicated 15 of the 19 bullies with behavioural problems were classified as anti-social. Three bullies were neurotic and the remaining one undifferentiated, that is to say, had anti-social and neurotic scores which were the same. The cognitive abilities of the bullies were predominantly average or below average. Examination of the children's social background revealed that 77% of all the bullies studied were regarded as having a social or environmental background which contributed to their bullying behaviour. Adverse factors in their background included broken homes, alcoholism, poverty, assertive pugnacious parents, lack of maternal affection, inadequate and inconsistent discipline.

Byrne's study is of further significance in that he examined secondary school boys (both victims and bullies aged between 12-17 years) attending a single-sex secondary school. No study to date has concentrated their efforts solely on a single-sex school. Byrne found that whereas there were no significant differences in the level of intelligence between the bullies, victims and the control group, the bullies were found, as in other studies, to be physically stronger and more willing and capable of retaliating than the other groups. In comparison to both the victims and the normal controls, the bullies were rated as the most popular group by their peers.

It is to be noted that the victims were assessed by their teachers as being of «unusual appearance» to a greater extent than the controls and the bullies. It was also found that both the victims and the bullies had abnormal speech patterns compared to the control boys. Speech, in this context, referred to mumbling, muttering, or particularly high or low voices. It also emerged that a large majority of both victims and bullies (94% in each case) had abnormal external physical characteristics. This compares with 67% of the control group.

Teacher ratings of personality characteristics indicated that bullies in contrast to the victims were excessively dominating, aggressive, boastful, attention-seeking, self-seeking for reward and demanding of others to do things for them. They were also more extraverted.

The pupils' self-reports, as assessed by Cattel's HSPQ Personality Test, indicated that there were statistically significant differences on Factors A, F and H. Factor A suggests that the victims see themselves as detached, critical, aloof while the bullies in contrast viewed themselves as more warm-hearted, outgoing, easy going, participating. Factor F implies that the bullies considered themselves to be more enthusiastic, heedless, happy-go-lucky than the victims who are sober, taciturn and serious. Factor H, moreover, indicated that the bullies were more adventurous, 'thick-skinned' and socially bold. The victims on the other hand regarded themselves to be shy, timid and «threat-sensitive».

In conclusion, it can be seen that the scientific material on the personal and family characteristics of the bullies and victims from Norway, Sweden, Finland, England and Ireland shared much common ground. The participants at the conference were also able to relate much of the data to their own personal, although anecdotal, experience. In this way, many of the important determinants of bullying were reinforced. At the same time, some of the more «old wives' tales» on the subject were dismissed. The following case study by Florence Aston of France illustrates this:

> «In March a homeroom teacher came to me one day because one of the students had been blackmailed and racketeered and had given away 1,000 Fr. or more since September to one of his classmates. The 11 year old victim had been trying to get rid of the tall student who was bothering him and threatening him of beating him up with the help of three other students, by giving away 100 Fr. notes every other week. The father of the victim owns a cafe and the boy stole the money from the drawer of the cash register. The racketeer said he had no idea it was so easy to get money out of people and had even received more than what he had asked for. When the facts were discovered

the father of the racketeer, a poor but proud coloured migrant, paid back the whole amount of money, one fourth of his monthly wages. The school social worker paid a visit to the home of the boy, everything was sparkling clean, the children had everything they needed: the parents had lost a 5 year old child two years ago who had jumped out of the window, and were still very afflicted».

It was believed that some of the discrepancies in the data within and between countries may reflect methodological differences as well as cultural differences. It was agreed that future research should:

i. attempt to ascertain the extent to which the negative behavioural traits of bullies and victims are causes or effects of the bullying situation in the peer group, and

ii. examine the relationship that may exist between bullying and a wider anti-social reaction pattern. Also, is our bully today, our delinquent tomorrow?

IV. PREVENTATIVE AND TREATMENT APPROACHES

It is clear that preventative and treatment approaches to bullying are needed. Stability correlations (Olweus, 1979) have indicated the remarkable persistence of aggressive behaviour. Moreover, the victims' situation often persists relatively unchanged over many years. Quite apart from relieving, therefore, the humiliation and suffering of victims, it is equally important and in the best interest of the perpetrators of bullying that they should not be allowed to continue to behave in this way. West (1973) has, for example, demonstrated that the most significant single factor predictive of later delinquency is troublesomeness at school at the age of 8 years.

Reference has already been made in this report to the national campaign against bullying in schools which was launched by the Department of Education in Norway. The recommended programme of change circulated to the schools throughout the country incorporated a «three step strategy» developed by Roland. It involves teachers taking the following three steps:

1. Families

Firstly, in hoping for any effective change in attitude to bullying, Roland believes it is vital that teachers strengthen their relationships with parents of their pupils. Meetings at class level should be arranged on a regular basis to discuss school-related topics of which bullying is one. When bullying is scheduled for discussion, he urges that the pupils should be present with their parents. To arouse interest and facilitate discussion, a video or film could be shown. The teacher, together with the parents, should then develop and organise their own investigation into the extent of bullying in their school and in the individual classes. With regard to the administration of the test, it was advised that each class of pupils participate in the study during the same hour to prevent distortion from possible pupil collusions. The analysis of the results should again involve the teacher and perhaps a few parent representatives. The findings should then be shared with the parents at the next meeting. If bullying is recognised as a problem for a particular class or school as a whole, discussions can then take place among parents and teachers as to how the problem can be reduced, stopped and prevented in the future. Follow-ups should also be arranged to discuss progress and to evaluate strategies used.

Concern was expressed by some conference participants regarding the age-old problem of attracting parents to come to meetings in schools. The key to success, according to the Norwegian participants who have had experience with Roland's strategies, lay with the ability of the class teacher to involve parents during the course of the year to help out with small tasks which improved the quality of the classroom eg paint walls, organise curtains, indeed arranging trips for parents and pupils together and putting on small informal social evenings.

2. The class

In addition to developing good relationships with parents, teachers are urged to strengthen their relationships with pupils to the extent that teachers «have a secret with every child - something between just the two of them». It was further argued by Roland that it is advantageous to structure the class into small stable groups. This will help pupils to feel safe while at the same time it affords them a sense of group membership. Furthermore, a positive class spirit and belongingness among pupils can be enhanced by affording the pupils the opportunity to discuss and subsequently decide on a set of rules and indeed sanctions for their classroom. Rules relating to bullying can then quite easily be incorporated. Also a natural venue is created for discussing certain key issues which are so fundamental to bullying. For instance, «telling tales», the role of responsibility with regard to active bullying as against the more passive supportive stance and physical bullying versus the indirect psychological methods such as exclusion from a group.

To increase the pupils' awareness of bullying and further create a climate of greater concern, various techniques were proposed such as

i. using appropriate literature for purposes of discussion;
ii. drama, where role-playing or creating a play can take place;
iii. essay writing whereby students read out their stories.

It was felt by Roland that this helps to undermine the bully should he/she be tempted to bully at a later stage.

3. The bullying situation

While the first two steps are designed to change attitudes to bullying and consequently go some way towards preventing it, this final step is used when a bullying incident occurs. The strategy involves meeting

a. the victim;
b. the bully or bullies individually;
c. the parents of both victim and bully.

Roland suggests the meeting with the bully should go something like this:

«I take it you know that Peter is bullied a good deal.
What can we do about it?»

One can expect to hear defensive reactions from the bully eg

«It's Peter's own fault, he deserves it».

A listener's role is recommended at this point. Simply continue,

«Well yes, you are probably wondering why I wanted to talk to you alone. Well, it's because I believe you have the ability to understand how painful it is for Peter and moreover I believe you have considerable influence over your friends».

The point is then reached where the pupil is asked for suggestions as to how he/she proposes to help put a stop to bullying. The pupil may well respond «What shall I do?» Teacher can then reply «Well, it depends how strong you are as a person. Would you dare defend Peter if someone else bullies him. We must of course speak with a few others in the class who might help you with this». The bully will suggest names which invariably involve his/her class friends whom teacher already knows are involved in bullying. Individual meetings must then be arranged as quickly as possible with the other significant pupils to prevent any undesirable communication between the guilty partners. After that, the culprits are asked to meet as a group and strategies are discussed and subsequently agreed.

Roland was aware that problems can arise with a group wherever a relationship exists between bullying and the power structure of the group. If for instance, the group dynamics are under threat as a result of the agreement entered into with teacher, it is possible that once outside the teachers' doors pressures will arise to disregard the agreements. The teacher must, therefore, preempt any such situation by saying, «when you leave this room, no doubt you'll laugh it off» or «maybe after sometime you'll decide not to follow it through. Maybe you'll even start up on Peter again». In addition to this «throwback technique» which Roland has found most effective, he also recommends that there should be regular follow-up meetings with the target group. As the group matures, an attempt can be made to get them to rehabilitate the victim by allowing him/her some positive group experiences. While work goes on with the bully or bully group, meetings are also arranged with the victim. The target group should know about this. In addition, there should be regular meetings arranged between the victim and the bully for the purpose of providing encouragement, reinforcement and future planning.

There was some feeling among the course participants that the very competitive spirit so characteristic of schools throughout Europe, not to mention the many examples of political violence, throughout the world, provides a very unsound basis for encouraging a positive classroom spirit with its inherent qualities of acceptance, co-operation and friendship (Michael Vikentios). It was also felt that Roland's approach to the bullies or victims was rather too direct. It was suggested that more could be achieved if the subject of bullying was raised on a more informal occasion such as when helping teacher with some extra-curricular activity. In other words, «approach it sideways», it was suggested, rather than «eyeball to eyeball» (Katrina Doves). It was further suggested that the teacher needs to take on the role of social agent. It was stated, moreover, that any programme of change should also consist of co-ordinated actions on the part of school authorities, school psychologists and welfare officers and indeed possibly even the courts.

In her report on bullying in the United Kingdom and Ireland, O'Moore mentioned several individuals who have taken a special interest in the subject and have made some important contributions to our understanding of prevention and treatment approaches to bullying. Lowenstein (1987), for example, in an unpublished manuscript, outlined in detail specific treatment measures he used with two adolescent boys referred to a therapeutic community for severe bullying. A summary of his six steps are as follows:

LOWENSTEIN: TREATMENT STRATEGIES

1. To create awareness in the community and the individuals involved ie the bully and the victim and to make certain bullying is discovered every time or most of the time.

2. To make certain that bullying can never be used successfully to gain ends since it results in the victim suffering distress.

3. To make certain that the community as a whole is against the bullying and takes action against such behaviour by reporting it and acting against it in any way necessary.

4. To make certain that bullying is always punished.

5. To provide alternative socially acceptable ways towards which habitual bullies can turn and use it to achieve their ends if this does not conflict with the rights and welfare of others.

6. To draw attention to the model of non-bullying behaviour and to encourage such alternative behaviour. This may be done by shaping improved behaviour.

Robin Chambers of Stoke Newington School in North London has also attempted to prevent bullying (St. John Brooks, 1985). His school is situated in one of «the most stressful social services area in the country». His objective was to undermine the tradition of secrecy. As headteacher of the school, he gets all the new children together in the assembly hall and tells them that «you have the right to come to school without being afraid. This is a 'telling school'. The rule that you must not tell was invented by bullies, and you will only get trouble if you don't tell».

Chambers even assured his pupils that they would be protected from reprisals outside school, and was prepared to visit homes over the weekend to make good his promise.

Chambers is very much of the opinion that schools do have the power to control situations. Racist or sexist abuse in the playground is forbidden and sexual stereotyping is discussed in class. Also boys are made to confront the whole macho business, eg what they're trying to do when they swagger.

Chambers was of the opinion that he was getting somewhere but he was constantly aware of what he called the gap between rhetoric and reality in trying to make such a policy work, and the fact that he was working against the tide. «If you take your eye off it for two days», he says, «well, it's like a weed, you keep having to pluck it out, and always will, so long as we've got the kind of society we've got».

A rather novel approach has been taken by Laslett (1982) who has suggested that setting up a children's court to which pupils can bring complaints against their peers can be one way of reducing bullying in school. Laslett states he was surprised at the children's sense of justice and their acumen. He quotes an example of a very delicate and very weakly boy who could neither read nor write, and indeed, could hardly walk up the stairs. Yet «it was striking to see the diminutive child telling children bigger, stronger and more intelligent than he what the court thought of their conduct and he was frequently elected as a justice because he showed a surprising amount of common sense».

Valerie Besag in a very informative contribution to the course was also of the opinion that schools can make a difference to bullying behaviour. "It's simply a matter of tightening nuts and bolts securely." Schools, she argued, must have a clear policy repudiating bullying which is known to the teachers, pupils, parents and the entire school administration. By not adopting a policy, Besag believes schools will be seen to tacitly condone bullying.

The organisational aspects of the school must be scrutinised to prevent periods when children are left unsupervised as this is when bullying so often takes place. This involves lunchtime, playtime and break supervision as well as arrangements for corridors and staircases during free time and lesson changes. Indeed the architecture of schools should be examined. Besag made a plea for the more open plan schools which are more easily overlooked thus preventing nooks and crannies from becoming secret pockets in which bullying can conveniently take place. Furthermore, she believes that the potential for bullying may be removed if teachers are punctual in arriving for their classes. Arrangements for supervision must be made when teachers are called away from the classroom.

Work must be done to change attitudes to bullying, not only among pupils but also among the staff, parents and the community. Ways must also be sought to release the «silent majority», those who know bullying occurs but who won't tell. For these children, Besag believes the message must be «no, you're not telling tales, you're being responsible».

Once a victim or bully or both has been identified, a behavioural approach is recommended. The emphasis is very much on problem solving, bringing victim and bully together, thus avoiding any form of «blame game». Group work and counselling (see handout in Appendices) were also felt to be invaluable tools in rehabilitating bully and victim. Finally, parents should be involved whenever possible. Besag believes they have been tremendously under-used and under-estimated and urges schools to hold workshops for them.

While there is a shortage of material on recommendations and evaluative exercises with regard to the prevention or curbing of bullying in the United Kingdom and Ireland, there is a wealth of information on other deviant forms of behaviour such as disruptiveness. Although, as mentioned earlier, bullying and disruptiveness are not synonymous undoubtedly there are lessons which can be learned from the literature on disruptiveness which may benefit those working with bullying.

Thus, Delwyn Tattum, a well known authority on the subject of disruptive behaviour, reported on the different strategies and policies developed in the United Kingdom to reduce disruptive pupil behaviour. Tattum believes in the preventative approach to school management rather than the crisis-management approach which has characterised recent years. The preventative approach places a greater emphasis on in-school responses, eg on report, daily behaviour records, short-stay, time-out rooms, local authority support teams, whereas a crisis-management approach stressed more punitive and segregation measures eg physical punishment, suspension, special units. The school-focussed strategies which Tattum proposed were threefold, namely

i. A whole-school discipline policy

ii. The development of a pastoral structure and curriculum

iii. Steps to develop positive pupils self-concepts.

An attempt will not be made here to expand on these recommendations as a very clear picture of his presentation can be gained from the handout at the meeting which is enclosed in the Appendices. In this handout, reference is made, where appropriate, to his own writings, so that an indepth analysis of his viewpoints is possible.

Windy Titman most engagingly introduced the Kidscape Primary Kit. This kit was designed by Michele Elliott and Wendy Titman with a primary objective being the prevention of child sexual abuse of children aged 5 to 11 years in a school setting. In the pilot work for the Kidscape child abuse prevention programme, Michele Elliott found that bullying was one of children's main worries. This unexpected finding therefore led to bullying being included in the Kidscape Primary Kit. The concept benind the kit is summarised in the phrase «Good Sense Defence». The programme teaches children positive and practical ways of dealing with potentially dangerous situations, including the possibility of sexual abuse. Children learn strategies for staying safe in various circumstances, for instance, if they get lost, if they are bullied, if strangers approach them or if an adult they know tries to harm them (75% of the reported cases of child sexual abuse in the United Kingdom are committed by someone known to the child). The Kit is designed for teachers of primary school children but can be used by other professionals working within the primary education system.

Whereas Wendy Titman stressed that the kit was designed for children in the United Kingdom and may not be suitable for other countries owing to cultural differences in attitudes and needs, course participants, however, believed the kit could be easily adapted to suit their individual countries.

Jamie Walker representing the Quaker Council for European Affairs stimulated much interest by her discussion of human rights education in schools throughout Europe. Many of the skills and concepts inherent in human rights education provide an excellent basis for discussing bullying which is a violation of human rights.

Having surveyed 22 countries with the help of the respective Departments of Education and teacher unions, Walker learned that there was great variation from country to country in attitudes to human rights education. There was great variation in the degree to which countries had applied Recommendation No. R (85) 7 of the Committee of Ministers on teaching and learning about human rights in schools adopted on 14 May 1985. Walker noted that it was not uncommon for teachers to regard human rights education as purely a political subject, overlooking the many other concepts and skills which are part of the programme, for instance:

i. the identification of bias, prejudice, stereotypes, inequality and discrimination including sexism and racism;

ii. solving conflict in a non-violent way and developing a sense of responsibility for what you do and what you don't do.

There is, therefore, a need to develop human rights education at teacher training level. If teachers, as Jamie Walker stated, «do not understand the principles of non-violence, then we must teach them before they can teach the children».

While some countries paid only lipservice to Council of Europe's recommendations on human rights education, other countries such as Scotland and Norway have forged ahead and integrated it into their school curriculum. Some countries have made human rights education a part of their counselling programme or their personal and social or civic education courses.

A notable example was the Carimeela project in the North of Ireland which allows children from very different cultural, political and religious backgrounds to come together in a relaxed environment, away from the troubled areas for several days. The children are thus given the opportunity to learn from and respect each other. Another creative way of approaching conflict resolution was to be found in Rome. Here Walker came across a children's theatre which actively involved its audience so that the children could examine their fears and conflicts and ways of resolving them.

Walker also mentioned Anatol Pikas, a Swedish psychologist who has developed a programme of strategies in Sweden to stop bullying in schools. These strategies were not discussed at the meeting but are to be found in his book, «Sa bekämpar vi Mobbing i skolen» (1987). Pikas has, however, come to the conclusion after his many years of research with the subject of bullying that teachers in the course of work will meet many more conflicts in the classroom and in society as a whole which involves breakdown in communication than those which involve bullying. Pikas has, therefore, developed a programme which he believes will foster better communication (Kommunikasjonsfostran). This programme is briefly outlined at the end of his book on bullying but he hopes to publish a fuller account of it in 1988. He believes that communication education is the key to resolving conflicts. The resolution of most of the democratic problems that face us, eg disturbances in the environment, nuclear disarmament, depend on us rapidly improving our communications culture.

There are seven steps in Pikas' communication education programme. Teachers must first be trained before exposing their pupils to them. The seven steps are as follows:

1. Creating motivation. The concept of conflict resolution is approached by inviting pupils to write essays and discuss certain conflicts. The aim is to get pupils to realise that they could have solved their problems more easily had they communicated better.

2. Agreeing upon common values of communication. Techniques such as brainstorming are used to gather ideas of how they can talk better to each other. Class then tries to decide on common values.

3. Practising listening and feedback. This is done by dividing pupils up into groups of three. Each group has a sender, a receiver and an observer. Firstly the sender speaks to receiver. Then the receiver repeats to sender what he/she heard. The sender then corrects the version he/she has just heard if necessary. The observer relates his/her observations of this exercise.

4. Communicating about communications. This involves

   a. correcting bad communication, such as not listening;
   b. discussing the value of non-verbal communication; and
   c. the role of incomplete information and the frustration this can cause.

5. Expressing feelings constructively. eg Putting your point across without having to hurt the feelings of others.

6. Communicating in conflict situations. Here all the foregoing steps are now incorporated into resolving conflict situations which are recalled by the pupils.

7. Conflict resolution without teacher present. Pupils are given opportunities to resolve conflicts on their own so as to develop independence of teacher.

In conclusion, the strategies presented at the meeting have predominantly focused on either the individual or on the school system. O'Moore, however, felt more attention should be given to the cause of bullying as well as to the symptoms. The research data, to date, has highlighted the relationship between disturbed home backgrounds and bullying. Parents, as one knows, are usually the most powerful influence over children, even in chaotic households. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that working with parents is more effective than direct «therapy» or intervention with the children. This is obviously an important area of future research with regard to bully/victim problems.

It was therefore suggested by O'Moore that of immediate relevance to teachers would be the implementation of various behavioural systems which link home and school. It is known that many schools have difficulty finding rewards and/or punishments which affect the behaviour of disruptive adolescents in school. However, such reinforcers may exist at home.

A system, therefore, of recording the child's behaviour at school and reporting this to the parents, who apply reinforcers as appropriate, may serve to get round this difficulty with minimal investment by the school. Attention was drawn to Topping (1983), who, in his excellent review of educational systems for disruptive pupils, quotes research which has reported significant improvements in behaviour and classroom performance of disruptive adolescents aged up to 19 years with little time investment from the school. Indeed, if one is to be conscious of costs, then according to Topping, parent-training is one of the most cost-effective strategies.

To conclude from the papers and the discussions at the course in Stavanger, what became apparent was the need for more detailed and well-controlled research. While it was recognised by the participants that the Scandinavian countries and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom and Ireland had contributed to their understanding of bullying, the participants, nonetheless, felt that more international and cross-cultural studies would be particularly important. However, it was felt that the same methodology and terminology should be used. This would avoid to some extent the question marks which hang over the present data on bullying. Namely, whether the differences and inconsistencies in the findings are a product of cultural differences or differences in the descriptions of the children studied.

It was proposed by O'Moore during the course of her talk that in working towards a framework of analysis a comprehensive model should be constructed which includes all the suggested factors in bullying. Furthermore, there should also be agreement on the appropriate measurement techniques by which each of the putative factors can be quantified. It was argued that only by such methods could true comparisons of the incidence and types of bullying be made.

Mona O'Moore observed that the present problems of research into bullying was similar to that which Neil Frude (1984) suggested must be tackled in research into disruption in schools. Namely, factors must be considered relating to:

i. particular incidents;
ii. personalities of individual pupils and teachers;
iii. interaction and social structure within the classroom;
iv. school organisation and ethos;
v. educational policy;
vi. wider societal factors.

The interactions between elements from these different levels are undoubtedly complex, and any attempt at a comprehensive analysis would involve inter-disciplinary thinking.

In time, it should be possible to integrate the information from all the proposed levels so that eventually it may be acknolwedged that bullying, like other deviant behaviour, is not a problem of the individual or teachers' unskilled at management or badly organised schools or an outmoded educational philosophy, but rather that it is a multi-factorial phenomenon which can be explained only with reference to many factors operating at many levels.

It is only then that one will be in a position to consider the full range of options for intervention and to implement measures which are optimally effective. To quote Frude yet again, it was suggested that «it would seem best to avoid the extremes of intellectual imperialism and to realise that many quite different approaches may provide useful information and may offer recommendations which should be seriously considered».

By the close of the meeting, some of the above suggestions were acted upon. Roland, for example, made available, for the purpose of cross cultural research, his definition of bullying and the questionnaires (Appendices) which he used in his research in Norway to examine the extent of bullying and its relationship with other forms of deviant behaviour and school-related factors. The majority of participants, quite apart from being committed to stimulating awareness of the problem of bullying in their countries, also expressed a keen interest in pursuing research into bullying.

It was therefore hoped that a follow-up conference could be organised with the support of the Council of Europe so that the research efforts initiated as a result of this meeting could be examined and further comparative studies planned. Should such a course take place the participants requested that

i. more time should be allowed for sharing and discussing practical work experiences;

ii. particular emphasis be placed on case study material;

iii. racial bullying should be given particular attention.

In the meantime, a European working group was formed whose aim was to

i. keep all participants aware of any international developments in the field of bullying;

ii. plan the follow-up meeting. The working group consisted of:

Maria M Baptista Vieira de Fonesca (Portugal)
Helma Safron (Austria)
Jamie Walker (Belgium)
Thomas Waldmann (Federal Republic of Germany)
Delwyn Tattum (United Kingdom)
Erling Roland (Norway)

Secretary: Niek de Kruit (Netherlands)

Chairperson: Mona O'Moore (Ireland and Council of Europe representative)

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A P P E N D I X I

BULLYING IN SCHOOL

SOLBORG FOLKEHØGSKOLE, STAVANGER, 2-7 AUGUST 1987

PROGRAMME

Sunday 2 August

18-19 hrs	Arrival - registration
19.00	Evening meal, followed by introductory session and informal «get-together»

Monday 3 August

9.00-10.30	Opening of the course General introduction to the course theme and identification of the problem of bullying in school - Scandinavian tradition, by Erling Roland, Stavanger College of Education.
11.00-12.30	Disruptive behaviour in schools, by Delwyn Tattum, South Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education, United Kingdom
14.00-16.30	Group work
17.00	Reception at Stavanger Cultural Centre. Film.
19.30 ca.	Dinner at Solborg.

Tuesday 4 August

9.00-10.30	The bullying situation in the United Kingdom and Ireland - a critical review, by Mona O'Moore, Trinity College, Dublin (Council of Europe representative)
11.00-12.30	Presentation of group work
14.00-	Understanding bullying - a causal model, by Erling Roland
18.00	Reception by the Mayor of Stavanger.

Wednesday 5 August

9.00-10.30	The use of non-violence in conflict solution, by Jamie Walker, The Quaker Council for European Affairs
11.00-12.30	The Kidscape Good Sense Defence Programme. Introduction by Wendy Titman, London
14.00-15.00	Ways of counteracting bullying in schools - management strategies, by Valerie Besag
15.30-18.00	Group work

Thursday 6 August

9.00-12.30	Presentation of the Norwegian Campaign against Bullying
	Strategies - some practical examples, by Erling Roland (Including role play and discussions)
14.00-	Group work
Afternoon/ evening	Excursion by boat on the fjords of Ryfylke Farewell dinner at Jørpeland.

Friday 7 August

9.00-12.30	Strategies continued - group reports
	Panel discussion: Further action and collaboration in the field. Summing-up.
	Departure after lunch.
	A lecture on research into the problem of bullying in the USA, by Dr. Nathaniel M Floyd, New York, may also be included in the programme

A P P E N D I X II / A N N E X E II

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A P P E N D I X III

Management Strategies for Bullying in School - Valerie Besag

Role of Parent or Educational Psychologist

1. What's going on?

   Is it bullying?
   What's being done to find out? - observation) by staff
   - analysis) pupils
   - sociometric work)

2. What is the quality of classroom supervision?

   Is the school seeing only the victim's reactions to the primary problem of bullying? - hitting out, temper flashes, swearing, flinching, crying out, tetchiness, bribes, nervous habits - reactions or retaliatory behaviour?

   What's happening behind the teacher's back?

   Is there adequate class control?

   Are teachers punctual? Is the victim left incarcerated?
   We choose social situations where we feel safe. Children can't in school.

   Do they have a dual role?

   Is the adequate supply cover for absent teachers?

   Which days, lessons, times are most stressful?

   What happens on the last few days of term - is control, supervision and discipline lax?

3. What is the quality of general supervision?

   - cloakrooms, toilets, changing rooms, library, school bus, dinners?

   Where has the buck stuck?

4. Is there a problem with lost, damaged, destroyed books and equipment?

   Why is this? Is this a bullying tactic? Has it been checked?

5. What are the staff - child lines of communication?

   Are they user friendly? ! i.e familiar to all, accessible, informal.

6. What liaison measures have been set up for the transition period, Primary - Secondary School?

   Are potential victims identified?
   Are they paired with more robust or older children - overtly or covertly?

   Timid and fearful children will not ask staff or peers for instructions, directions, locations, identities - are there notices, posters pictures, photographs well displayed to identify key staff, locations, time-tables, lay-out of buildings.

7. What protective measures could be implemented?

- a Minder, Adopt A Brother.
Are older children with school kudos making themselves known to isolated youngsters?

8. What strengths of the victim have been identified, encouraged, publicised?

9. What remediation is offered for -
- learning difficulties
- co-ordination problems
- social skills - Pastoral Work
P.S.E.
A.T.W.
Counselling
Group work
role - play
- use of outside agencies

10. What use is made of extra curricula time

What is done inside the school is only preparation for life outside the school. The academic curriculum is not an end in itself.

Academic skills will never be used effectively if crippled by inadequate social interaction.

11. What liaison work could be offered to parents?

These children are unable to help themselves. Are parents actively encouraged to keep in close contact with school during a crisis? Is the programme monitored jointly? What use is made of parent and para professional skills?
Parents are not over-sensitive if a child is not functioning adequately.

12. These children cannot cope alone.
They are unable to help themselves.
They are picked out and picked on from a very early age - often pre-school.
Their role as victim is continued year after year over change in group and situation resulting in a ten year span of under-functioning.

INVESTIGATING A CASE

I Analyse Who, why, when, where, what.

1) the situation
   - is it really bullying ?
2) the interaction

one	-	one
one	-	group
group	-	one
group	-	group

   - is there a leader, a hidden leader, a provocateur ?
   - is it casual jibes and taunts which have become unbearable ?

II Observe

1) which days, lessons, routes, situations ?
2) use peers and para professional observers
3) consider using covert observation in class

III Check

1) the quality and quantity of supervision in and around school
2) punctuality of staff
3) class control

IV Discuss

1) school policy - is it familiar to all ?
2) sanctions, controls
3) remediation available for:

learning difficulties
poor co-ordination
weak physical strength
poor social interactions
- annoying habits
- low self esteem
- immaturity
- low confidence

V Implement

Work with bully, victim, both together.

1) Attitude of bully

- is he projecting his own faults, compensating
- is it careless taunts or jibes
- for entertainment
- crass bid for popularity, group membership etc.

2) Work with bully

- discriminate between leadership and dominance
  familiarisation and appreciation of skills, attributes, personalities of others
  reciprocity
  etc.

3) Attitude of victim

- low self esteem
- poor confidence
- inadequate social skills, social awareness
- loner - by choice or exclusion ?
  etc.

4) Work with victim

- friendship
- role play and rehearse protective strategies
- provoking behaviours
  etc.

5) Work with bully and victim together

- paired work with a purpose - familiarity may not breed contempt
- discover root problem - target for change
- seek solution together - intellectual not emotional approach
  etc.

VI Contact

Parents - keep in close contact in crisis
- alert all concerned that the behaviour is intolerable
- initiate a practical programme
- create friendship situations
- encourage a skill
- contract for targets - written, monitor, evaluate, feedback, reward.

VII Counsel

Peers - attributes, responsibility.

Attitude Change	Behavioural Work	Group Membership	Curriculum
of staff of parents of peers of bully and victim community ethos responsibility of all, for all awareness and appreciation of others: what they can offer what they need	with bully and victim to learn appropriate behaviours reinforce success with effective rewards use: targets, written contract, monitoring, feedback, evaluation use a problem solving approach avoid an emotive atmosphere - avoid the blame game work with the peer group - reinforce for appropriate responses.	1) use a gradation, a hierarchy of groups and desensitization work a) adult groups are more tolerant - could teach a skill which could facilitate group membership b) structured school group supervised by adults c) open peer group e.g. public disco 2) set a specific target 3) find a skill or a function for currency within the group or to give a purpose for attendance 4) school cannot manufacture friendship but CAN provide opportunity	Pastoral team can oversee: supervision discipline check progress record development construct yearly curriculum programme e.g. Personal and Social Education Active Tutorial Work

Analysis & Observation	Parents	Supervision	Counselling
analyse the situation, the **interactions**	offer immediate support, feedback, communication chanel	in and out of school	work with the bully and victim, together if feasible
observe what, when, where, **why**, who	look at the family dynamics - the extended family, the role of siblings	effectiveness and alertness of staff, para professional staff	individual and group work
use staff, para professionals, **peers** and older pupils	neighbourhood attitudes	class control and management	skewed perceptions
covert class observations **by other staff**	offer a co-partnership role	a school policy familiar to all	leadership
sociograms, rep grids, **surveys**	suggest they teach a skill or encourage a functional role to facilitate group acceptance	firm sanctions and controls in operation	friendship
is remediation necessary	teach protective strategies	LEA funding for supervision, for design of buildings	confront
e.g. academic skills physical skills social skills	teach warning signs	communication between staff	assertiveness
	offer help to other children	alert to target spots	egocentricity
		alert to target pupils	attitudes
		use of peers e.g. Minder	relaxation
		use of older pupils for observation, supervision, kudos	tolerance
			self esteem
			confidence
			provocation
			reciprocity
			responsibility
			inner restraints & **controls** moral development
			use of video, cartoons, graphs, diagrams, etc.
			commercial videos, films, literature.

APPENDIX IV

DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOLS

Delwyn Tattum

1. Introduction:-

What is the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate violence?

" direct and indirect violence?

" public and private violence?

2. What is disruptive behaviour?

From personal research (Tattum, 1982)

(i) a definition:- "Rule-breaking behaviour in the form of conscious action or inaction, which brings about an interruption or curtailment of a classroom or school activity, and damages interpersonal relationships." p.46.

(ii) We accept that a pupil's difficult behaviour may be precipitated by home circumstances, so why not accept that it is a reaction to something stressful or unpleasant in school.

5 vocabularies of motive:- (pages 94 - 110)

(a) It was the teacher's fault.

(b) Being treated with disrespect.

(c) Inconsistency of rule application.

(d) We were only messing - having a laugh.

(e) It's the fault of the school system.

3. Who is the victim?

How we define a problem influences our actions as we seek ways of dealing with it.

(i) The medical model is child focused; whilst

(ii) The contextual model is school/classroom, interpersonal interaction focused.

4. Approaches to disruptive behaviour in the U.K.

(i) A crisis-management approach initially predominated as the emphasis was on punitive and segregation measures e.g. corporal punishment; suspension; special units.

(ii) There is a more preventative approach growing with a greater emphasis on in-school responses, e.g. on report; daily behaviour records; short-stay, time-out rooms; local authority support teams.

SCHOOL FOCUSED RECOMMENDATIONS

As with any other aspect of the curriculum the control, management and response to children with emotional and behavioural difficulties must be planned carefully in each school and understood by all members within the following categories.

(i) Teacher intervention intended to reduce or avoid disturbed/disturbing behaviour.

(ii) Management techniques employed to contain or control undesirable behaviour.

(iii) School strategies designed and developed to prevent future occurrences. (See Tattum, 1985 and 1986).

A. A Whole-School Discipline Policy based on coherence and consistency as elements of good management. (Tattum, 1986).

Coherence - refers to thoughts and speech - the formulation and articulation of plans and policies.

Consistency - refers to behaviour whereby practices are set and procedures are put into operation.

Elements:-

(i) Teachers, pupils and ancillary staff to be closely involved in the creation and review of discipline policy and practice for better understanding and commitment.

(ii) Policy must be communicated to teachers, pupils, parents and other adults involved in the running of the school.

(iii) Teachers must communicate good standards by their behaviour.

(iv) Schools need to keep accurate, up-to-date records of pupil attainment and behaviour.

(v) A school's ethos is expressed through the quality of interpersonal relationships, the quality of the learning environment, the implicit and explicit communication of attitudes, values and beliefs.

B. The Pastoral Structure and Curriculum

"..... the art of the pastoral system is to help all the individuals without always giving individual help."
(Marland, 1980, p.153).

Broadly conceived pastoral care "is more likely to provide effective support for learning and good behaviour, by creating a climate in which pupils feel secure and aware of their obligations." (HMI, 1987, p.15).

Objectives:-

(i) To provide each pupil with a member of staff to whom he/she can relate and turn to in times of stress or crisis.

(ii) To reduce the problems and tensions implicit in school organisation so that children may make the most effective possible use of the learning environment.

(iii) To establish a tutorial system for early recognition of special needs in learning and behaviour.

(iv) To promote each pupil's personal and social education and hence develop in them an attitude which accepts and respects exceptionality.

(v) To assist children develop a sense of their own identity and worth.

C. To Develop Positive Pupils' Self-Concepts

"People high in their own estimation approach tasks and other people with the expectation that they will be successful and well-received. Many of the pupils interviewed regarded themselves as 'system rejects', as they believed that teachers were not interested in them as persons or pupils, and their response was apathy, withdrawal, or open defiance". (Tattum, 1985).

"School is for learning, but all it learned me is that I'm no good for anything".
(Quote from 14 year old boy, Tattum, 1982, p.179).

Considerations (See Tattum, 1985 and 1986)

(i) The development of effective teaching techniques and skills.

(ii) To emphasize commendation and reward for success rather than focusing on failure, criticism and sanctions.

(iii) The establishment of good teacher-pupil relations about the school and in classrooms.

(iv) The purposeful teaching of personal and social education in all lessons and tutorial periods.

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